20c MARCH 17, 1952

No Freedom for Teachers — page 5

New Republic

CONSECRATED TORY

The Personality and Prospects of Robert A. Taft

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Letters

Shridharani's Defeat

● [*New Republic* readers who follow the political development of India may be interested in learning how the efforts of their New Delhi correspondent to win a seat in the recent national election turned out.]

I lost, but I lost gloriously! My Congress opponent was once the member of the Working Committee and the Deputy Chief Minister of Saurashtra. He lives there and he has worked in the villages for the last 35 years. My campaign was only of three weeks. I had to cover some 630 villages. Polling booths were in some 268 villages. I did not even have polling agents at most of these. My opponent had all the advantages of the Congress Party, money and vast organization and the glamor of Nehru who also came to my constituency for electioneering. And yet I secured a good amount of votes, in spite of the fact that the opposition vote was divided with two additional candidates. From the very beginning I had regarded the experiment as the grand rehearsal. I am preparing for the next battle. I believe that Indian democracy will die a-borning unless there is an independent and enlightened opposition.

KRISHNALAL SHRIDHARANI
New Delhi, India

Communist-Dominated Unions

● For a long time I have been disturbed by the real threat to American security, not by the Jessups who have been shamelessly accused for cheap political advantage, but by the Communist-led in our defense plants. So, I would like to thank Harry Conn and the *New Republic* for putting the spotlight of publicity on this danger to a very sensitive part of our economy (See "Communist-Led Unions and US Security," *NR*, Feb. 18).

I also say we all owe a vote of thanks to Senator Humphrey for holding hearings in an effort to remedy the situation. But why has it taken so long; and why has it received no attention in the Big Press? How about an article on that?
Washington, D. C. HARRY BALFE II

The 1952 Campaign

● My appreciation for your clear, informing, perspective-providing summary of Governor Stevenson's views on crucial issues of 1952! I only hope we have an opportunity to vote, next November, for men of his caliber. Not many "availables" in either party—from Truman and Taft to Vinson and Stassen—have the record for probity, judgment and principle that Stevenson has made. And his experience, significantly, encompasses a substantial stint of overseas experience.
Ann Arbor, Mich. CARLTON F. WELLS

● The letter in your Feb. 18 issue from Mr. J. B. Connor shows a singular lack of information as to President Truman. I, too, am a registered Democrat, and a liberal. In my opinion your editorial hit the bulls-eye, except that it was too easy on the President. Apparently Mr. Connor has not heard of the tax scandals or is willing to wink at them, not to speak of the Missouri gang in the White House and other official positions. Mr. Truman, unfortunately, got his political training in the Pendergast atmosphere in Kansas City; and holds as the first article of his creed—"Stay with your friends, no matter how crooked they may be." This, with his silly stubbornness, has produced a very unsavory record. He has done many good things, but often has turned about and practically canceled them as in the case of the "independent" oil companies and his friend Wallgren. Every man concerned in the conviction of Pendergast, was shut out of office at the first opportunity. He tried to give us an oil magnate in the Navy Department, and let Harold Ickes, the best Secretary of Interior we ever had and a thoroughly honest man, go in the process. He has turned against the most effective Senators in several cases, because of some small matter of patronage. He is too small a man for the Presidency, and is, at the present time, a serious handicap to the Party. His long silence as to his intentions has put the Party in a very serious quandary and is not unlikely to lead to defeat in November. He is consumed by the desire to promote his own interests. He should, by all means, withdraw. It will soon be too late, if it is not already so.
Los Angeles, Calif. FRANK C. REID

● Recent political statements have revealed that there is but one man among the many mentioned for the nomination for the Presidency who possesses the wisdom and courage required to grapple with the complex international and domestic problems which beset us. That man is Associate Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Justice Douglas' views, expressed on the bench and off, have consistently evoked tremendous amounts of favorable comment throughout the nation. In spite of this, there has been little inclination by political leaders to consider him seriously for the nomination. Although many newspapers and magazines have editorially favored and have indicated the existence of strong popular sentiment for a Douglas candidacy, this sentiment has not yet been expressed in a movement designed to secure the nomination for Douglas.

Independent Voters for Douglas has been organized as a rallying point for Americans of all political faiths who feel that it is time that our nation dispense with mediocre political leadership and once more elect men of stature and maturity to our high office.

We of Independent Voters for Douglas call upon the thousands of Americans who feel as we do to join with us in

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Reward

Special work done by police officer Julio Gonzales in the Chavez Ravine area was the subject of commendation today by the City Council. Councilmen adopted unanimously a resolution . . . praising Gonzales for his achievements in bringing about better understanding between residents of that area and the police department.

The officer is being transferred to another assignment. – *From the Los Angeles* Daily News.

Fair Employment Practice

All games of chance were closed on the midway of the State Fair of Texas Thursday. The action came as many women attended the fair for Women's Christian Temperance Union Day. . . .

Closed were 44 concessions. A 45th, in which you throw baseballs to drop a Negro into a tank of water, was permitted to continue. – *An Associated Press report from Dallas, appearing in the Houston (Tex.) Post.*

Man of Principle

Public Housing, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and "a month's free vacation for everyone at government expense" are the same in principle. – *Admiral Ben Moreell, U.S.N. (ret.), president of Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp. as reported in the Toledo* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE primary shows Taft's strength and the nation's peril. Any other GOP nominees—Ike, Stassen, Warren—could legitimately attack Truman on domestic issues, and the campaign would turn on them. Not Taft. If Taft is the nominee, the 1952 campaign will inevitably be made on foreign affairs and bipartisanship will be out the window.

Taft split with Vandenberg on this issue. Taft represented a minority of his party in Congress, Vandenberg the majority. Vandenberg is gone, and Taft wants to make his rejected views those of the whole party. His nomination will do so, as did Harding's in 1920. Taft voted against the World Bank and Fund, participation in the UN, the 1946 British loan, the North Atlantic Treaty and the Point Four program. He voted for cuts in practically all foreign-aid bills. He opposed the confirmation of Henry L. Stimson in 1940 and of Gen. George Marshall in 1950. He pooh-poohed the menace of Hitler and Stalin and saw no danger of war right on the eve of Pearl Harbor. Even after Korea he advocated defense cuts. He has been wrong on foreign affairs almost 100 percent. Now he is trying to prove he was right and sell America the New Isolationism.

Taft's fierce determination to make foreign policy the issue is matched only by the angry resolve of Democrats to attack his 12-year record if he is nominated. Taft's nomination would turn America's bipartisan foreign policy into a dog fight.

Truman made three fervent appeals in 24 hours for the $7.9 billion mutual-aid program, but nobody believes the whole sum will be approved. The question in Congress is not will it be cut but how much? This is election year and the demagoguery of "economy" is rampant. Here is a chance to make sacrifices—and send the bill to our allies. Let us pull in the belt—at Europe's expense. The prospect is that the program won't be crippled but a minimum cut of a billion dollars will be made, primarily in Point Four and economic assistance.

It is really quite entertaining to see sanctimonious Senators like Walter George (D, Ga.) who have been howling about "corruption" refusing to give up their own patronage by putting collectors of internal revenue under civil service, as Truman recommends. Left to itself, the Senate would reject Truman's reform bill in a minute. Of course this would scrap the Presidential "corruption" issue (which is two-thirds politics anyway), but the Senators would prefer to do that any day to losing the 64 collectors, who are the king-pins of state patronage machines. Under the national kleig lights of publicity, however, the result is a toss-up. The Senate Expenditures committee voted for patronage and against reform, seven to five; George and Hoey were the two Democrats in the seven and the five Republicans were McCarthy, Mundt, Schoeppel, Dworshak and Nixon. How many other Senators will vote for "corruption" in the showdown remains to be seen.

An amusing showdown is ahead too on McCarthy, though on a secondary point. When William Benton (D, Conn.) introduced his McCarthy ouster resolution, it went to a Senate subcommittee. McCarthy protested but didn't stop there. His whole life has been built on venomous personal attack so he attacked the subcommittee. He attacked the members' good faith and charged they were using "tens of thousands of dollars of taxpayers' money" to smear him. This was before they made any recommendations at all. It was unwise. The subcommittee is the agent of the whole Senate and McCarthy is, in this case, not attacking defenseless Lattimore, or even publisher Luce, but the Senate

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itself. The full committee supported the subcommittee against McCarthy, eight to three. Now it's up to the Senate.

The issue isn't on Senator McCarthy's ouster because the Senate doesn't intend to vote on that. It's on McCarthy's tactics, and a good many disgusted Senators relish the opportunity of reprimanding him on this secondary point.

Truman came out the other day in a letter to Rep. Jacob Javits (R, N.Y.) for holding party conventions every two years. This didn't attract much attention, but it is important. The recommendation was sponsored by a committee of the American Political Science Association in 1950. The committee argued that US political parties don't amount to much and that's why American voters won't vote. One step toward improvement would be to have conventions before the mid-term Congressional elections as well as before Presidential elections to pledge the parties and candidates to a definite course. The way it is now, say the professors, you often can't tell what an election means even after it is over.

There is real danger of "stomach Communism" in Latin America where Guatemala is now rowing with the United Fruit Company in a situation embryonically like that in Iran. Citizens of the US earn average incomes of $1,500; the 150 million people in Latin America average $150 a year. United Fruit has a $30 million investment in Guatemala. There are probably only 500 Commies there, but they control the trade unions and threaten the Yankees with confiscation. Some Congressmen here have been mouthing "Intervention!" — the worst possible course under the circumstances. The affair shows the instability of our whole relationship.

Notes: N.H. doctors loyally aided Taft. . . . Senate attendance has rarely been so bad; only one other member was on hand when Olin Johnston (D, S.C.) read an impassioned "economy" speech last week.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

the fight to elect William O. Douglas to the office of President of the United States.

Independent Voters for Douglas, Box 1572, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Bernard R. Sorkin, Gerard M. Weisberg, Seymour Vall, for the Committee

New York City

● At least one statement of your "Washington Wire" of Feb. 23 "hit" a mighty 'big "nail" squarely "on the head." Surely, those who presented a vaudeville show at Madison Square Garden recently to popularize General Eisenhower couldn't "discuss issues when nobody knows where Ike stands on foreign policy."

While "Ike" in my own humble estimation might enable the GOP to sweep the country this year, our partisans of a blundering political "elephant" are in reality subscribing to a campaign of ignorance in furthering the candidicy of anybody because of his military glamor. The Liberal Party of New York, of which I am a member, was obsessed by similar obscurantism when four years ago it wanted the Democrats to nominate "Ike" instead of Truman. I'm still applauding myself for being among a few attending a Liberal Party state committee meeting who preferred recommending Associate Justice William O. Douglas.

As a World Federalist, Justice Douglas stands for a foreign policy which precludes an erasure from the map of Schenectady in an atom-bomb explosion, not to mention Washington and New York.

Schenectady, N. Y. HERBERT M. MERRILL

Praise for Clurman

● That was a beautiful piece Harold Clurman wrote on S. N. Behrman (*NR*, Feb. 18).

I had frequently thought what a shame it was to waste the genuine gifts of a tenement-reared son of immigrant parents in the Restoration pose of a worldling. The pose doesn't even look good on the Cowards and Maughams. On a basically serious mind like Mr. Behrman's (see his recent writings on his early days) the pose looks atrocious.

New York City DAVID L. WEISSMAN

Catholics and Liberals

● One of your readers protests that the Giese article ("Liberalism: A Catholic View," *NR*, Jan. 7) should not have appeared in the *New Republic*, but personally I am glad that it did.

For I have long been suspicious of the liberalism of the average Catholic, and have always felt that when it came to the test, the church would have to be consulted; and obviously the interest of the Church rarely runs parallel to that of the people, individually or collectively.

As a member of the Brotherhood of Carpenters since 1907 I know only too well that the influence of the average Catholic member is rarely on the side of liberalism and progress. No doubt the backwardness and conservatism of labor in the US is, in great measure, due to too much Catholic pressure in and on the unions.

Brooklyn, N. Y. MARTIN CHRISTIANSEN

How to Stop Inflation

● I saved a few pages from your August 11, 1937 weekly about salaries and wages in 1936. I think it would be a good idea for you to make a new study for 15 years later, 1951. A steel strike may come soon and if they win, more inflation will result. Several steps could be taken to alleviate that situation. The President of the United States runs the biggest business and no man's salary should exceed his. Tax it completely over $100,000. Wage boosts could be paid in government bonds with a severe limitation on when they could be cashed. Cut out speculative buying in Wall Street. Abolish borrowing for more than three months. Encourage government bond buying. It is the only way many people will save. Why do banks who lend the government funds have the right to lend several times that sum?

Summit, N. J. MRS. WALDO AMOS

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ADLAI E. STEVENSON

A Statement of His Views

Reprints from the *New Republic* of February 18, 1952

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New Republic

THE OUTLAWING OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM

THE SUPREME COURT'S melancholy retreat from the Bill of Rights continues apace. By a vote of six to three, it has sustained the constitutionality of New York's Feinberg Law, designed to rid New York public schools of subversive teachers by an indiscriminate use of the "guilt by association" test.

The Feinberg Law, enacted in 1949, implements provisions of the New York Civil Service Law forbidding the employment of teachers who advocate or belong to organizations that advocate the forcible overthrow of the government. It requires the state Board of Regents to "make a listing of organizations which it finds to be subversive" and commands the Board to provide in its rules that "membership in any such organization . . . shall constitute prima facie evidence of disqualification" for any position in the public schools.

The Supreme Court majority, speaking through Justice Sherman Minton, bluntly thrust aside the serious inroads on constitutional freedoms implicit in this legislation. In crude language unworthy of the Court's high traditions, Minton warned school teachers that they may work only on the "reasonable terms" laid down by school authorities and that "if they do not choose to work on such terms, they are at liberty to retain their beliefs and associations and go elsewhere." Authorities have the right and the duty to screen those who work in such a sensitive atmosphere as a schoolroom. And, said Minton, "we know of no rule, constitutional or otherwise, that prevents the state, when determining the fitness and loyalty of such persons, from considering the organizations and persons with whom they associate."

The Feinberg Law's basic constitutional vice, to which the Court closed its eyes, is its ready assumption that membership in an administratively proscribed organization is the prima facie equivalent of advocacy of forceful overthrow of the government. The Court majority to the contrary notwithstanding, the "generality of experience" has demonstrated beyond dispute that membership alone does not mean that the member supports all the unlawful aims of an organization. Indeed, such unlawful aims invariably are found to exist not in the proclaimed dogmas of organizations but in the implications drawn from certain statements and actions of prominent leaders and officers. To tie the innocent member to all those statements and actions, even on a prima facie basis, is to flout all reason and justice. And to clear the member only if he can affirmatively prove his innocence is to ignore the established presumption of innocence and to place on him a well-nigh impossible burden.

Moreover, the "generality of experience" which the Court mentions further makes plain that advocacy of revolution is too often forgotten, or is too vague in its meaning, when it comes to a bureaucratic application of the concept. Advocacy of liberal or unpopular causes usually is substituted as the test of subversiveness in place of actual advocacy of bloody revolt. That such is certain to occur under the Feinberg Law is evident from its provision that the Board of Regents may utilize listings and designations by federal agencies and authorities. Those listings and designations have not been noteworthy in confining themselves to organizations of a truly revolutionary character.

Thus it is that the validation of the Feinberg Law opens the Pandora's box of official repression, dogmatism and orthodoxy in the schoolroom. If innocent membership in such proscribed organizations is to be the prima facie stamp of what amounts to treason, teachers will never know in these hysterical times when their liberal pasts or their liberal views will be used to disqualify them permanently from their profession. The inevitable consequence of this reign of terror is to force all teachers to follow blindly the officially acceptable ideas and to forego all that academic freedom has come to mean in America.

The tragic repercussions of this unhappy decision are endless. It will be mirrored in the spawning of new Feinberg laws in other states. It will show its effects in the narrowed discussions of controversial subjects, where teachers fear even to discuss unorthodox ideas. It will have an indirect but none the less important impact on the minds of our future generations, who will be deprived of the stimulus to seek out truth wherever it may lie. All of this and more have been indelibly set forth in the magnificent dissents of Justices Douglas and Black, dissents which bear repeating at this point:

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ADLER v. BOARD OF EDUCATION,
Justices Douglas and Black Dissenting:

I HAVE not been able to accept the recent doctrine that a citizen who enters the public service can be forced to sacrifice his civil rights. I cannot for example find in our constitutional scheme the power of a state to place its employees in the category of second-class citizens by denying them freedom of thought and expression. The Constitution guarantees freedom of thought and expression to everyone. . . . All are entitled to it; and none needs it more than the teacher.

The public school is in most respects the cradle of our democracy. The increasing role of the public school is seized upon by proponents of the type of legislation represented by New York's Feinberg law as proof of the importance and need for keeping the school free of "subversive influences." But that is to misconceive the effect of this type of legislation. Indeed the impact of this . . . on the public-school system illustrates the high purpose of the First Amendment in freeing speech and thought from censorship.

The present law proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society—guilt by association. A teacher is disqualified because of her membership in an organization found to be "subversive." The finding as to the "subversive" character of the organization is made in a proceeding to which the teacher is not a party and in which it is not clear that she may even be heard. To be sure she may have a hearing when charges of disloyalty are leveled against her. But in that hearing the finding as to the "subversive" character of the organization apparently may not be reopened in order to allow her to show the truth of the matter. The irrebuttable charge that the organization is "subversive" therefore hangs as an ominous cloud over her own hearing. The mere fact of membership in the organization raises a prima facie case of her own guilt. She may, it is said, show her innocence. But innocence in this case turns on knowledge; and when the witch hunt is on, one who must rely on ignorance leans on a feeble reed.

The very threat of such a procedure is certain to raise havoc with academic freedom. Youthful indiscretions, mistaken causes, misguided enthusiasms—all long forgotten—become the ghosts of a harrowing present. Any organization committed to a liberal cause, any group organized to revolt against an hysterical trend, any committee launched to sponsor an unpopular program becomes suspect. These are the organizations into which Communists often infiltrate. Their presence infects the whole, even though the project was not conceived in sin. A teacher caught in that mesh is almost certain to stand condemned. Fearing condemnation, she will tend to shrink from any association that stirs controversy. . . .

Once a teacher's connection with a listed organization is shown, her views become subject to scrutiny to determine whether her membership . . . is innocent or, if she was formerly a member, whether she has *bona fide* abandoned her membership.

The law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. Regular loyalty reports on the teachers must be made. The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. Ears are cocked for tell-tale signs of disloyalty. The prejudices of the community come into play in searching out the disloyal. This is not the usual type of supervision which checks a teacher's competency; it is a system which searches for hidden meaning in a teacher's utterances.

What was the significance of the reference of the art teacher to Socialism? Why was the history teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain? Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of *The Grapes of Wrath*? What was behind the praise of Soviet metallurgy in the chemistry class? Was it not "subversive" for the teacher to cast doubt on the wisdom of the venture in Korea?

What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. Teachers are under constant surveillance; their pasts are combed for signs of disloyalty; their utterances are watched for clues to dangerous thoughts. A pall is cast over the classrooms. There can be no real academic freedom in that environment. Where suspicion fills the air and holds scholars in line for fear of their jobs, there can be no exercise of the free intellect. Supineness and dogmatism take the place of inquiry. A "party line"—as dangerous as the "party line" of the Communists—lays hold. It is the "party line" of the orthodox view, of the conventional thought, of the accepted approach. A problem can no longer be pursued with impunity to its edges. Fear stalks the classroom. The teacher is no longer a stimulant to adventurous thinking; she becomes instead a pipeline for safe and sound information. A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry. Instruction tends to become sterile; pursuit of knowledge is discouraged; discussion often leaves off where it should begin.

This, I think, is what happens when a censor looks over a teacher's shoulder. This system of spying and surveillance with its accompanying reports and trials cannot go hand in hand with academic freedom. It produces standardized thought, not the pursuit of truth. Yet it was the pursuit of truth which the First Amendment was designed to protect. A system which directly or inevitably has that effect is alien to our system and should be struck down. Its survival is a real threat to our way of life. We need be bold and adventuresome in our thinking to survive. A school system producing students trained as robots threatens to rob a generation of the versatility that has been perhaps our greatest distinction. The Framers knew the danger of dogmatism; they also knew the strength that comes when the mind is free, when ideas may be pursued wherever they lead. We forget these teachings of the First Amendment when we sustain this law.

Of course the school systems of the country need not become cells for Communist activities; and the classrooms need not become forums for propagandizing the Marxist creed. But the guilt of the teacher should turn on overt acts. So long as she is a law abiding citizen, so long as her performance within the public-school system meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her.

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THE WEEK

ONLY 48 STATES

After 80 years of waiting, some 128,000 Alaskans watched the 82nd Congress put aside statehood for selfish, regional interests. At the same time, some 500,000 Hawaiians saw their own hopes for membership in the US fade. A majority of the US Senate chose to ignore the fact that local self-government is a fundamental belief in this country and that by granting statehood we could give the world another clear demonstration that we are firmly committed against colonialism.

The bill to grant statehood for Alaska was sent back to committee by a vote of 45 to 44, with the coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans again operating with great success. The Southerners opposed the measure because it would mean two more pro-civil rights Senators in Congress; the Republicans, because Alaska is primarily pro-Democratic. Twenty Republicans joined 25 Southern-led Democrats to recommit the bill; 20 Republicans and 24 Democrats opposed the move. Senator Lodge (R, Mass.) was the only one who neither voted nor paired his vote. Senator Taft (R, Ohio) can be credited with swinging the necessary number of votes to send the bill back to Committee. Despite the fact that statehood for Alaska is a part of the Republican, as well as the Democratic, Party platform, Candidate Taft argued that Alaska is a "principality of the Interior Department" and could not "fulfill the financial responsibilities of statehood."

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith charged that "both parties might as well junk their platforms and not make any more, for they then become fraudulent farces upon the American people."

UMT—NOT NOW

American youth were given a dubious draft deferment when the House of Representatives decided that Universal Military Training was too hot an issue to act on in an election year. Defeat of the watered-down UMT plan by a vote of 236 to 155 was, however, a victory for no one. Congress will only have to face the issue again next year. The Pentagon, defeated on an ineptly formulated bill, will continue to draw manpower from the draft. And young men will continue to go into uniform, little cheered that the induction date continues to be after their nineteenth, instead of their eighteenth birthdays.

Chairman Carl Vinson (D, Ga.) of the Armed Services Committee was confident of victory a month ago. But when it came to a vote he was forced to "soften" it in an unsuccessful attempt to overcome a disjointed but numerically superior opposition of Republicans, big-city Democrats and a sizable bloc of his own Southern colleagues. Many of the negative votes were due to energetic lobbying by labor and church groups who argued that UMT would bring "militarism." But the solid backbone of the opposition was composed of GOP isolationists. Almost all the veteran Republicans who spoke against the measure had also voted against the draft in 1940 and 1941.

The strongest and most unexpected blow to passage was the defection of many Southern Democrats who are usually staunch supporters of military programs. Their opposition, veiled at first, was due to UMT's being proposed as a non-segregated program. Their motives were brought into the open when Rep. John Williams (D, Miss.) made public a letter in which Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg answered his request for assurance that segregation would be observed with a blunt "No." About 40 Southerners thought this the dominant issue. To them the bill's general merits were secondary to, as one Representative put it, "the argument being heard in the cloakrooms that this measure is to be used as an Anna Rosenberg social integration scheme."

STEEL STRIKE SET

Long anticipated, once postponed, the nationwide strike of the CIO Steelworkers is now expected to come off as scheduled March 23.

The strike, originally set for February 23, was postponed for one month by a special union convention at Atlantic City to await the decision on a wage increase from the special panel of the Wage Stabilization Board. That decision, reportedly, will be issued March 13 or 14. The Board is expected to recommend that the nation's steel industry grant most of the demands of the union. The industry will probably reject the limited provisions for price increases and refuse to comply with the recommendation. The union will then strike.

Informed officials are reporting that the Board will recommend an increase of about 18½ cents an hour in addition to five to ten cents more in fringe benefits. The Board is expected to recommend that the industry be allowed to increase prices to the extent allowed by the Capehart Amendment to the Defense Production Act. Office of Price Stabilization officials state that this figure will vary depending on the individual company, the categories of steel involved, the techniques of computation and OPS action on requested changes asked by the industry. Increases are reported to range all the way from zero to $8 a ton—the probable average, slightly less than $4 a ton. The industry says that before it grants the union demands it must have an increase far above that.

The union is digging in for a long siege. Despite the fact that a strike would practically halt the nation's mobilization program, union officials believe that the government will be slow to take strong action. They believe that since their strike aims will be for a settlement along the lines of WSB recommendations, their position will be strong. The membership, feeling the cost-of-living pinch, has been restless during the month's postponement.

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Outside America

EUROPE'S ARMY—FIRST STEPS

There are few sensible Western Europeans who would deny to the United States what Winston Churchill in the House of Commons eloquently called "the honor which belongs to them of being the supreme agent and chosen leader of the world instrument against Communist aggression." For it is plain that in Europe as well as in Korea the US is the "prime factor." And hence President Truman had the right to say proudly on behalf of American policy that his Cabinet officers' meetings in London and Lisbon had accomplished "things we have been working for these last three or four years."

The decisions to create a European army and a European defense community, with German participation, were important diplomatic achievements recognized generally in Europe as ending the phase in European unification which began with the appointment of General Eisenhower. Yet the enthusiasm about their implications for the next phase in Europe which seems to have swept the American press, and American public opinion, too, has by no means been equalled in either Great Britain or on the continent.

"There is now hope for Europe," Secretary Acheson said at Lisbon. He found the agreements of the ministers a "vast step forward to a new era of life in the West" and added: "This action will meet with the overwhelming support of the US Congress." It would be folly to question the vital importance of such support: the willingness of the American people to participate fully and intelligently is likely to be a "prime factor" in Europe's affairs for a long time to come.

Nevertheless, the steps which were designed to secure Congressional support were taken on the governmental level and approved whole-heartedly only on that level. For Europeans are acutely aware that perhaps the most serious problems of European unity in the phase now starting lie on the political level of parliaments and the psychological level of peoples. This is most obvious in countries like France, West Germany and Italy where governments no longer adequately represent either their parliaments or peoples.

The London *Times* was more than unkind about the decision to create the European army. Under the title "The Phantom Army" it said with unconcealed annoyance that the "whole communique has a very American ring" and deplored "a mistaken attempt to combine military security with political propaganda." In order to win the support of Congress, it explained, a paper army with little chance of practical realization had been created.

It may be true that such a mesalliance produced a technically "bad device," a pattern of defense which "bears no relation" either to the military or the political dangers in Europe, both of them real and calculable. What is even more serious from the European point of view is that the device complicates the task of creating the political and psychological climate of understanding and acceptance in Europe.

The London *Economist* lamented:

> The decision to make Germany a participant in Western defense has imposed on the still youthful movement for European unity a problem heavier than anyone had the right to expect its adolescent shoulders to bear. It may succeed in shouldering it, but at what cost in deformation remains to be seen. It was as civilians that Frenchmen and Germans would have best learned how later to wear a common uniform.

The view is widespread that if America is to be effectively the "supreme agent" against Communism, it must make a serious effort in Europe's next phase to prevent the truly internationalist and democratic goals of European unity from being blurred by the opportunistic improvisations of a specifically military and predominantly American pattern of Atlantic cohesion. The "cost in deformation" may be the *de facto* replacement of a Europe organically united through economic merger and political fusion by a Europe which is merely the sum of parts even more nationalistic and retrograde than they are now.

When Aneurin Bevan in the House of Commons accused Churchill of having an "eighteenth century psychology" which prevented him from recognizing that the "revolution" in the Far East and Middle East "would go on for the rest of this century and would not be contained by military arms," he was also accusing American policy. Yet the weakness of that policy in the European context is in fact the failure to realize that an evolution from nineteenth to twentieth century psychology and methods needs urgently to be aided. American haste to get on with the making of an army runs into a hesitancy based on the fear not only that it may lead on to war but back to an ugly, cruel peace.

In the past 18 months retail prices have risen in France by 39 percent. The French Government which helped give Europe the hope of which Acheson spoke is in fact quite unable to cope with the real problems of its own people. Bonapartism of the Gaullist variety is gaining strength because as Hubert Beuve Mery, the most honest editor of France, says:

> The legal country tends to be merely a less and less impressive façade and the real country a feudal system of vested interests, both organized and contradictory, which no one can any longer arbitrate, not even Parliament where the system has its lobbyists and is widely represented. . . .

And in West Germany even the American High Commissioner John J. McCloy says that most of the democratic parties and even some Cabinet Ministers have been promoting nationalism. Since the neo-Nazis are effectively trying to "discredit and destroy Parliamentary democracy," the prospect is not pretty. Surely America has not been working for the last three or four years to let the good Europeans hear the jackboots of the old German militarism crunch into the old bloody muck the hope for "a new era of life in the West."

Paris PERCY WINNER

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CONSECRATED TORY—ROBERT A. TAFT

1. We must capitalize every grievance

THESE DAYS, while other candidates labor with the responsibilities of power, Robert Alfonso Taft is out on the road, culling delegates for himself from every grudge and resentment that ordinary people bear against a hard and uncertain world.

Taft is touring America. And after a while, writers who tag along begin to get illusions. They imagine that they can spot Taft supporters on sight. Taft supporters wear glasses; they have gray temples; they are dressed in substantial business suits. They drive Buicks or Cadillacs; they belong to the "better element"; they show unmistakable signs of never having been so prosperous; they wear a worried, haggard look.

To these people, Taft preaches, from sun-up to midnight, in a flat and rasping voice. There is little gesture or drama in his speeches. There are few metaphors, almost no humor, and no purple passages. Taft has a formidable intensity and never lets anything like studied eloquence get between him and his audience. He talks straight to his listeners, and after a while he grips them with the power of someone who is terribly in earnest. He is much too much in earnest to waste time in listening to applause. He fights his audience until they learn not to interrupt him. When they have given up the unequal struggle they credit Taft for his sincerity.

Taft guards himself against his own intensity. A slight smile plays constantly on his lips as he relates the Administration's betrayals, but it is the smile of a man who finds it wiser to pretend to be cynical than to bare his heart of its real rage. Sometimes after moments in which a smile is pinned on his face, as tight as a sheet drawn over a grinning skull, the anger cannot be contained. But generally Taft is far more genial and mellow than he used to be. He offers felicitous improvisations at the start of his talks. He has a boyish grin that compensates in part for his cold concentration and abruptness. But the man who flatters himself in conversation with Taft that he has found a ready listener realizes suddenly that Taft is not listening at all.

Taft's chief charm is the paradox of being modest while being quite certain that he is right. He is approachable and genial. He is not working for himself, but the Cause. He is an evangelist of Republican fundamentalism, setting high standards for himself and others, according to his own rules. He hates to have mediocre people around him, and it is part of his sacrifice for the Cause that he will suffer fools gladly, shaking every hand thrust toward him after each speech, and listening to numbskulls tell how they once met his father in what is now another world. Taft's brains and background would have made him an outstanding corporation lawyer. He preferred to enter politics to set the nation right.

Taft speaks with confidence now, and his confidence is basic to his appeal. The hardest problems become absurdly simple. The toughest questions from hecklers he flips off into the empty spaces behind the platform with a genial quip. "Will you welcome the support of McCarthy?" the man of conscience in the audience cries. "Why I'll even welcome the support of Wayne Morse!" chuckles Taft.

It was not always that way. When Taft ran for the Senate in 1938 and again in 1944, he barely eked out victories in spite of two of the most lushly financed campaigns in the history of Ohio. His political punch was woefully weak. And despite his title of Mr. Republican, he was not much more successful as a symbol. Taft has never been a man to bring a cheering audience to its feet. Until this year Taft has listened to more polite applause than any other man alive.

But the 1950 election had a dramatic and emotional impact upon the Taft followers, especially in Ohio. He

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gained no color, but he did show that with prodigious work, he could develop impressive power at the polls. For the first time in years, conservative Republicans believed in the elusive vision which told them they could have national victory on their own terms.

And what terms! The Ohio GOP is the strongest bulwark of archaic Republicanism outside the Tribune Tower. It has been a major hindrance to the Eastern and Western branches of the Party in their attempt to adjust the national organization to the political realities of the last 20 years. With few exceptions, the Ohio leaders have been consistent in their support of isolationism and *laissez faire* economics, and in their condemnation of most of the social legislation passed during the New and Fair Deals. They worked dutifully for Willkie in 1940, and for Dewey in 1944 and 1948, but it was obvious that their hearts weren't in the contests.

In contrast, Taft is a man Ohio Republicans can understand and cherish and, since his landslide victory two years ago, they have an almost mystical faith in his ability to win the Presidency and lead the nation back to the days of Alton B. Parker. They are no longer mere partisans. They are zealous crusaders now, and provide most of the fire behind Taft's drive for the nomination.

In addition, they possess in the Republican machine in Ohio one of the most efficient, tightly disciplined and heavily financed organizations in the country. Although it has had difficulty in winning the governorship with any regularity, it usually captures most of the minor state offices and these, together with the many county positions it fills, provide ample patronage for the maintenance of loyal subordination by the faithful.

Hamilton County, which is comprised largely of Cincinnati, Taft's home town, has the strongest, most effective unit in Ohio's Republican organization. Its roots are deep in this basically conservative city which, alone among large metropolitan centers in the country, has voted Republican in each of the last three Presidential elections. GOP stalwarts fill almost all of the jobs in the county government, and the Party usually elects its full slate of Representatives and Senators to the state legislature.

Only in city rule are the regular Republicans more often than not in the minority position. This paradoxical situation stems from a powerful municipal reform movement which struck Cincinnati not long after Taft had won his first race. The GOP machine, at that time, was thoroughly corrupt and completely subservient to a burlesque impressario named Rud Hynicka. The group which swept the organization out called itself the Charter Party and was led by Republicans of impeccable respectability. The continued success of the new party, among many other benefits, brought about a gradual, but drastic clean-up of the regular Republican organization. It has been untouched by scandal for years.

But deviationists are rarely appreciated by the parent-body, even when the changes they bring about are beneficial. Although many of the Republican-Charterites campaign vigorously for the GOP on state and national levels, the county organization still views them as apostates and holds them in about the same regard that Titoists are held in Moscow.

This ancient grudge may prove to be an important factor in the forthcoming election. Note that Robert A. Taft remained faithful to the machine through all its troubles. His brother, Charles, however, was one of the leaders of the insurgents, and Charles has selected this year to seek, for the first time, the Republican nomination for Governor.

In Republican circles in Ohio this year, all things are evaluated in terms of their effect upon the Presidential aspirations of Robert A. Taft. If the Senator received the nomination in Chicago, would his brother's name at the head of the state ticket aid or hurt him? The Hamilton County group has decided, although perhaps not dispassionately, that Charles is a renegade with a suspicious weakness for New and Fair Deal projects, and that his presence on the ballot would weaken the solid front of old-fashioned Republicans. His original political sins in Cincinnati, his interest in welfare and his willingness to accept a series of jobs under Democratic administrations, make him unfit to appear on the same ballot with his brother and with John Bricker who is running for re-election to the Senate. To make its position clear, the local organization recently endorsed one Roscoe R. Walcutt who, along with former Gov. Thomas J. Herbert, is opposing Charles Taft in the primary election.

As for the Senator, he has maintained a chilly aloofness to his brother's campaign and has flatly refused even to state that in the primary Charles will receive his vote. His attitude is all the more forbidding since Charles is campaigning dutifully for him. That does not mean, of course, that Charles' heart is in this work. "Bob," he once told a group of friends in Tennessee, "is a brilliant man and a hard-working man. No one else gets as deeply into problems as he does. And no one else invariably comes up with the wrong answers."

Why is it that Taft is almost invariably wrong? The answer surely is that Taft is a man with a fine mind and no heart. He has no warmth, no compassion, no feeling for ordinary people. In addition, he is always 10 years behind the march of events. If history inched forward,

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a 10-year lag would not be fatal in the White House. Today it can mean the loss of a continent to an enemy that never relinquishes its grip.

Taft concedes the first fault, if not the second. He has set out grimly to give the appearance of warmth. But he has abandoned a deeper virtue—his integrity.

Many of Taft's critics will argue with passion that he never had integrity. Reading through his works, we believe that he abandoned it when the worm of ambition finally bored into his soul. Many independent voters seem to agree. They are shocked when Taft commits an unprincipled act because they have not yet reconciled themselves to the changes ambition can work in a man.

Taft talks continuously in terms of principles today. He constantly modifies his program in accordance with pressures behind his candidacy. But he strenuously insists that he will not modify his principles to win independent votes. Over and over he states:

"We cannot afford to modify our principles to secure the support of a limited number of mugwumps who never have and never will believe in Republican principles."

Taft's lack of principle is on another plane. It revolves around a new strategy that he has developed which he believes will lead to his nomination and election in 1952.

Taft knows that voters are carrying heavy burdens today. He knows that none the less the hard core Democratic vote is larger than the hard core Republican vote. He believes that he must raise the blood pressures of ignorant apathetic millions who normally don't vote to get them to the polls. So he is out to enrage the voters. He concludes that the only way to do this is to deal simply, in blacks and whites. Over and over, he tells his backers in effect:

"We must present every issue that we can muster just as strongly as we can. We must capitalize every grievance, every defect, every criticism, international or domestic, in order to win."

This strategy leads a once-principled man into statements that he knows cannot be upheld.

For example Taft claims in his book that:

"Administration policy deliberately built up Russia to its position as a dangerous power."

If true, that makes Communist sympathizers out of men who served as Secretary of State in the years Taft speaks of. They were Cordell Hull, Edward Stettinius, James F. Byrnes and General Marshall.

As the 1952 campaign develops, Taft is further abandoning a principled approach in making irreconcilable and unattainable promises to contrasting groups of voters. To city audiences he states consistently that prices are intolerably high. To farm audiences, as at Wisconsin Rapids on February 9, Taft claims that:

"The American people could well afford to pay more for certain products, particularly animal products."

To the same audience, Taft stated:

"The Republican Party . . . promises within a short time a reduction of taxes."

No responsible candidate, concerned with the threat of Communist conquest of the world, could promise any such thing.

One illustration of Taft's new strategy is the Korean War. Traveling through cities where casualty lists are in the minds of every family, Taft damns this war which he has supported as "Truman's War" and "the unnecessary war."

By now Taft has rewritten the history of the Korean War as completely as Stalin has rewritten the life of Trotsky.

The war began, Taft declares in his book, because:

"The Administration . . . in a definite statement of policy by Secretary Acheson [declared] that we would absolutely undertake no defense of South Korea or Formosa."

The only absolute in fact is the untruth of Taft's assertion. Acheson in fact stated that we were committed to resist aggression in Korea under the Charter of the UN.

Taft himself has always supported the Korean War. Truman's position, in entering the war, Taft has said, "was unassailable." But now as months drag by and casualties mount Taft loads the responsibility onto Truman's shoulders. "The Korean War is a Truman war" he insists, as in his Seattle address. He absolves himself and his party of all responsibility by declaring "President Truman plunged the nation into the war. . . . The President usurped the power to make war . . . he completely failed to consult Congress. . . . " While it is true that for obvious reasons Truman did not ask Congress to declare war, he did in fact seek continuous consultation, and Congress in fact gave full endorsement of the war.

Taft continues, as in Seattle on February 12:

"There never would have been a war in Korea if President Truman had not withdrawn our troops. . . . The war in Korea would have been won long ago if President Truman had followed the advice of our greatest soldier General MacArthur. . . . " Taft adds:

"General MacArthur was dismissed primarily because he wanted to win the war against Communist China. The Administration did not."

Again every sentence is a distortion of the truth. The

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war in Korea was caused by the innate expansionism of Communist imperialism. If we had followed MacArthur's advice we would in fact be fighting on the Chinese mainland a war we never could win. MacArthur was dismissed because of insubordination. We are not at war with Communist China. Our policy, established by the government and Congress is to complete the mission set by the UN which is to "repel the aggression." No other mission makes sense in Korea, and none other would be accepted by the UN.

A second example of Taft's new strategy is his support of Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

McCarthy is a proven liar. He has published stolen secrets, instituted boycotts against radio commentators and magazines, and resorted to political blackmail in his campaign of smear. He has accused the State Department of "raping" and destroying its own files. But not once, according to Conrad Snow, Chairman of the Department's Loyalty Board, has McCarthy produced "a single item of new evidence of disloyalty."

General Snow, a lifelong Republican, defined McCarthyism in a recent speech as:

> . . . the making of baseless accusations regarding the loyalty and integrity of public officers and employees by a person who is himself in high public office and who uses his office at one and the same time as a platform from which to shout his accusations and as a screen to protect himself from action for defamation.

McCarthy is America's foremost enemy of free speech. He is today as dangerous to America as Hitler was to Germany in 1925. Already he threatens to dominate a major political party. Yet Taft, far from showing an awareness of this threat, has welcomed McCarthy as a valuable ally.

Soon after McCarthy launched his baseless attacks, Taft blurted out to a group of reporters that he had told McCarthy to "keep on making charges until he found something" and, if his charges against one victim failed to stick, to move on to the next. From then on Taft gave to McCarthyism the weight of respectability. Under extreme pressure from *Life,* Taft once eased off from a position of complete endorsement of McCarthy. But in Wisconsin he returned to a stand of unqualified support.

Taft praised McCarthy in Wisconsin and claimed him as a friend. Time after time he backed his smear campaign, challenging all who expressed doubt to name a single instance in which McCarthy had been unjust. In a prepared speech at Beloit on January 21 he stated:

> It was the pro-Communist policies of the State Department which fully justified Joe McCarthy in his demand for an investigation of conditions in that Department. . . . McCarthy's investigation has been fully justified by repeated dismissals of employees of doubtful loyalty, by the revelations regarding the insincerity of the State Department's Loyalty Board, by the dismissal of Service and by other evidence showing that the investigation must be pushed to a conclusion.

Here once again, Taft is distorting the facts. The dismissals were carried out before McCarthy's "investigation." No "revelations" have been made about the Department's Loyalty Board; it has not been called insincere except by McCarthy. Service was not charged with disloyalty. As for pushing McCarthy's investigation to a conclusion—*this can only mean that as President, Taft will place behind McCarthyism the full force of the executive power.*

Will Taft gain that power? Not long ago it was fashionable to answer *no.* Experts agreed that the Republican high command would never pick a certain loser. Democrats fervently hoped that Taft would win the nomination because he was the easiest Republican to beat.

These views seem to us unfounded. Taft is a strong candidate and the reigning leader in his party. He is drawing large crowds in all his meetings, and if the response is not roaring applause, the effect is more substantial; it is felt in large donations, the firmer tone the next day in local newspapers, and the pledges, quietly turned in, of delegates to the Republican convention. Taft is on the spot, backed by professionals. The one man who seems able to check him is far away and backed by amateurs. Nobody is behind Eisenhower but the voters, and in party conventions they don't count. The bosses count; the Old Guard controls. To them Taft is one of them. Eisenhower is an interloper. It is as though Taft were now reaping ground that has been ploughed, harrowed and fertilized for generations while Eisenhower's backers are struggling to start a rush crop from random seed.

Taft is an ardent suitor and the public likes to be wooed. It likes a candidate who wants the job; no one wants it more than Taft. He will have spoken in every state before the convention. If he is nominated he will lead the most intense and methodical campaign in history. He will have unlimited funds at his disposal. He will give himself unstintingly to the Cause.

In 1950, the Democrats thought they could beat Taft with a second-rater. Labor added its enthusiastic support. Both went down for the count. Those who write Taft off today might remember the post-mortem of Jack Kroll, the CIO leader, on the Ohio campaign. "Before we start throwing our weight around we ought to get on the scales."

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WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO MARXISM?

by G. D. H. Cole

WHAT IS Marxism? The answer must evidently depend on the context in which the question is put; for by Marxism may be meant any of a number of different things, from the social doctrine expressed in the writings of Marx himself, or of Marx and his collaborator Engels, to any of the variant modern interpretations of these writings in relation to the problems of the present day. Among these latter-day Marxisms, pride of place in terms of influence has to be given to what has come to be called, with hyphenated inelegance, "Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism," today the official gospel of the Soviet Union. But we have still to reckon with the rival Social Democratic interpretation, which supplied the theoretical basis for the German Social Democratic Party and, largely through that party, for most of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe, apart from Great Britain. Nor can we afford to forget the great "Revisionist" controversy which more than half a century ago threatened to rend European Social Democracy asunder, when Eduard Bernstein, much influenced by his residence in England, challenged a number of the outstanding dogmas of orthodox Social Democracy. For Bernstein, though condemned and defeated, lived to see many of his ideas re-enter the parties of the Second International by the back door, until Socialist orthodoxy had in many countries been so reshaped as to resemble Revisionism much more closely than it did the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848.

It is best to begin with Marx himself, and particularly with the passage in the Introduction to his *Critique of Political Economy* in which he gave the most general account of the genesis and nature of his ideas. This passage makes plain Marx's belief that there was in human history an intelligible pattern, that the clue to the understanding of this pattern was to be found in economic development, and that, given this clue, it was possible to predict the general course of social evolution. This ability to predict was the basis of the claim to have converted Socialism from "utopia" to "science." Everything that could not be included among the basic economic forces determining the course of social development was to be regarded as belonging to a "superstructure" resting upon the changing foundations of economic power and as exerting only a secondary influence. All ideas and ideals, including ideas of right and wrong, were parts of this superstructure and were derived from the social relations determined by the economic factors. Engels later hedged on this, assigning to the secondary factors a considerable influence on history; but they remained secondary and essentially derivative. The changing "powers of production" were the real determinants of social evolution, through their effects on human relations including the relations between men and things as well as between men and men. Moreover, the "powers of production" were conceived as themselves following a determined course of development; they were a part of the order of nature, moving with the certainty of natural law in a scientific, materialist sense of the term.

What were these "powers of production" on which the entire structure of Marx's sociological thought finally rested? The question is not easily answered, and Marxists have disputed much about their nature. What seems clear is that Marx thought of them in terms of a natural tendency toward advance in the practical knowledge of putting things to human ends, and of this advance as involving an ever-increasing complexity and range of social "co-operation." As men became more knowing about things and about themselves, they grew both more productive and more integrated in their economic activities, until at last they were destined to achieve a degree of integration that would make unavoidable worldwide co-operation on a basis of common ownership. This would carry with it a parallel, but subsidiary, development of worldwide government on a basis of complete democracy, in the sense of universal citizenship in a classless society. And then, what? Marx did not say, beyond the cryptic assertion that at this point pre-history would end, and history begin.

Historical development, then, in its major phase, was a direct outcome of the evolution of the "powers of production." This was Marx's first, and most fundamental, affirmation. But it was linked in his mind with a second, even more controversial, proposition, concerning the manner in which changes in these powers made their impact on society. It was laid down, in the *Communist Manifesto* and elsewhere, that human history—up to the arrival of the classless world society—consisted primarily of a sequence of struggles between classes which were themselves the outcome of successive stages in the development of the "powers of production." The existence and character of classes were explained as arising out of

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the economic relations between men and women and between men and things that were necessary at each stage for the utilization of the powers of production then at men's command. This implies the existence and effectiveness of a natural tendency in men to exploit economic opportunities to the full, and also of a sequence of social structures, each, in a purely economic sense, best adapted in its own time to achieve this end. It implies the superiority of capitalism, again in a purely economic sense, to all previous systems, and the coming superiority, in the same sense, of Socialism as the embodiment of a more developed system of economic co-operation.

The coming of Socialism is, then, for Marx, a predictable fact, and not a matter of human choice or moral aspiration. Socialism is bound to come some day; and Marx, interpreting the economic trends of his time, expected it to come soon. To what extent he believed human action could affect the time and manner of its coming he never made clear; and on this issue there has been endless, inconclusive argument. But certainly he had no doubt of the trend, and regarded Socialism as the necessary outcome of a process which was leading through a progressive simplification of class structure toward the final elimination of classes after a decisive struggle between the two significant surviving classes—capitalists and workers.

With this interpretation of history as a sequence of class struggles—the Marxian version of the Hegelian dialectic—went a theory of the state in which political institutions are representative of class interests. The state, being part of the superstructure raised on the foundations of economic power, is necessarily a coercive instrument of the economically dominant class. Marx thinks always of a "police state," its character determined not by whatever voting rights it recognizes but by the nature of its entire complex of institutions, of which the legislature is only one, and not the most important. It must be remembered that Marx had formed his main ideas well before, even in Great Britain, the suffrage had been at all widely extended, and that he tended to think mainly in terms of the kinds of state that existed in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century, and especially of the Prussian State. But it must also be borne in mind that he did not change his views in face either of the British Reform Act of 1867 or of the establishment of a popularly elected assembly for the German Reich of 1870. In his *Civil War in France* he interpreted the Paris Commune of 1871 as the forerunner of a new kind of state, emanating directly from the people as the expression of their economic power. Indeed, it followed from his conception of the primacy of economic forces that in the change to the new society the economic revolution had to come first. The state machine could not be used to establish the new economic order, but only to consolidate and reinforce it by transposing the economic revolution into terms of law.

This question came up in connection with the amalgamation of the German followers of Marx and Lassalle to form the German Social Democratic Party of 1875. Marx, in the memorandum now known as the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, vigorously attacked the proposed terms of amalgamation, chiefly because of the false theory of the state on which he deemed them to rest. The Lassalleans had always looked forward to the achievement of Socialism through the democratization of the state machine; as against this view, Marx insisted that a mere change in electoral rights could not affect the essential character of the state, and that the proletariat, in order to construct a state capable of giving expression to its aspirations, would have to destroy the entire police organization and bureaucracy of the capitalist state. The new state he foresaw must provide for the workers' own representatives to occupy the key positions of authority. There would have to be not only a proletarian assembly and proletarian ministers getting only proletarian incomes, but also a proletarian army, a proletarian police, a proletarian judiciary and a proletarian civil service, not raised above the workers, but identified with the new economically dominant class. The German Marxists of 1875 suppressed their master's pungent comments on their apostasy and it was not until long afterward that Marx's protest was published. The Gotha Congress of 1875, at which the united German Social Democratic Party was set up, went without Marx's blessing; indeed, from that date, German Social Democracy, though it professed to be Marxist, rested on a denial of an important part of Marx's fundamental doctrine.

The German Social Democrats, however, continued to rest their faith on the economic doctrine of Marxism, even when they came to deny its political implications. Marx's economic theory was cast in the form of a criticism of the classical economics of the first half of the nineteenth century, and particularly of Ricardo; but at bottom it rested on the simple idea that the economically dominant class, by monopolistic ownership and control of the means of production, was able to appropriate to its own uses the benefits of advancing productivity based on processes of manufacture that grew progressively more co-operative. Its exclusive access to land and to capital installations gave it a bargaining advantage that allowed it to buy the use of labor power for a subsistence wage increasingly below its productive capacity. Marx

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did not deny that the workers, by combination, could sometimes wring concessions from the ruling class, but he held that the capitalists' monopoly enabled them to get their own back by using machinery to increase the intensity of labor. He did not even deny that under favorable conditions the subsistence level could rise, but he held that the historical tendency of capitalist development was to destroy skill by the increasing subdivision and mechanization of labor, and to reduce the proletarians more and more to a mass of undifferentiated, unskilled labor power, continually swollen by the pouring into it of superseded groups of petty master-artisans and small employers who lacked the means to modernize their methods of production.

Upon this broad foundation Marx, in criticizing the classical economists, built the formidable economic theory expressed in *Capital*—a theory that today is the basis for the formulation of economic planning and accounting in the Soviet Union and in the Communist countries under its influence. The labor theory of value, with its distinction between productive and non-productive labor, between variable and constant capital, is invoked to provide a theoretical foundation for the simple notion of capitalist exploitation of labor. It is of no help, as Marx makes plain in his discussion of prices in the third volume of *Capital*, as a clue to the prices at which goods exchange in a capitalistic society; and its use in solving the budgetary problems of a planned socialist economy is no more apparent. If it is retained by Social Democrats as well as by Communists as a framework for economic theorization, it is because of its quality as a weapon against capitalist economics rather than any bearing it can have on the distribution of productive resources.

Marx's economic theory is designed to show why the capitalist is able to buy labor power for less than labor produces; and it links up with his prophecies about the "increasing misery" that is destined to fall upon the mass of the people as the "contradictions of capitalism" come more and more fully into play. According to Marx's historical doctrine, each successive economic system is an advance on those which have gone before it, and no system is superseded until its full potentialities have been realized and it has come up against "contradictions" which cannot be resolved within its limits. The fundamental "contradiction" of capitalism, as Marx sees it, is displayed in its inherent tendency both to accelerate total production and, by holding the consumption of the mass of the people down to "subsistence level," to prevent the market for mass-produced goods from expanding fast enough to absorb the increasing output. This tendency Marx regarded as the cause of the recurrent crises which beset capitalism during the first part of the nineteenth century—crises temporarily resolved only by great destruction of productive agencies, and prevented from being fatal only because the advanced capitalist countries were able to dump their surplus products on the less capitalistic parts of the world. We can follow, in the correspondence between Marx and Engels, their renewed hopes that each crisis would prove to be the last and would open the road to social revolution, as well as their unshaken faith that the "final crisis" was bound to come, if not at this time, at any rate quite soon. Despite the non-arrival of this culmination, Social Democrats kept their faith in this part of Marx's doctrine, even when many of them had become skeptical, in view of the plain facts, about the validity of the doctrine of "increasing misery," or had at least made valiant efforts to explain it away. It was left for Bernstein, in his "Revisionist" challenge, to throw overboard not only "increasing misery," but the theory of the "final crisis" as well, and therewith to attack the very basis of Marx's revolutionism. For, if there need be no final crisis of capitalism, how was it possible to predict the advent of the revolution which was to arise out of it? Bernstein's revised doctrine involved the idea of Socialism as the outcome of an evolutionary process, without revolution, and transferred the emphasis from Socialism as a result to gradual socialization as a continuing process.

This conception was inconsistent with Marx's view of the state, as a construct made to serve the interests of the ruling class. It required an evolutionary theory of politics, as well as of economic development. For the gradual advance toward Socialism would clearly not be possible unless the state, as well as the economic order, could change in an evolutionary way, so as to become by stages the instrument of the democratizing forces at work in society. Such a view of the state, already implicit in the Gotha compromise of 1875, had received further acceptance in the Erfurt program of 1890, when the German Social Democrats had complemented their statement of ultimate aims with a program of immediate reforms to be worked for by parliamentary means. Nevertheless, Bernstein's proposals shocked most of the Social Democratic leaders, because they undermined the fundamental theory of Marxism both economically and politically. The Revisionists were voted down, and the old orthodoxies declared inviolate; but that did not prevent the Social Democrats from acting more and more, as its electoral influence increased, in the spirit of Bernstein.

The second and final part of this article will appear next week.

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THE BATTLE OF THE SNAKE

by G. H. R. Taylor

WHERE THE northward flowing Snake River has carved the deepest gorge in North America between Oregon and Idaho lies one of the Continent's last great natural damsites—Hell's Canyon. If approved by Congress the dam will, on completion, rank as highest and third largest in the world —742 feet in height from bedrock, containing 6.2 million cubic yards of concrete, and creating a reservoir 93 miles in length storing 3.8 million acre feet of water. It will cost the people of the United States approximately $357 million, all but a small proportion of which will be repaid with interest from power revenues.

Hell's Canyon's control of the flow of the Snake above the mouths of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers will appreciably reduce flood stages on the lower Columbia and assist in providing an equalized channel depth for navigation from Lewiston, Ida., to Portland. The backwaters will allow barge transportation of concentrates, smelted ores and supplies to and from the rail head at Huntington, Ore., which will be stimulated by expected development of large and still unexploited deposits of copper and other minerals adjacent to the dam. Large and unmeasured benefits from recreation will be derived from throwing open a magnificent, incredibly rough and seldom visited region of canyons, streams, lakes and glacial peaks. It is important to the future of irrigation in Idaho.

But the most important and controversial product of Hell's Canyon Dam will be its vast output of hydroelectric power. Second only to Grand Coulee in over-all prime capability, the generators at Hell's Canyon will turn out 688,000 kilowatts and firm up an additional 723,000 kilowatts on existing and contemplated downstream projects, according to Bonneville Power Administration estimates. A grand total of 1,423,000 kilowatts will be on the line by 1958 to meet the ever-expanding demands of a power-hungry Northwest, and representing four percent of the entire generating potential of the Columbia River system.

When a treaty of peace was finally negotiated in 1949 between the US Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation in the form of a joint comprehensive development plan for the Columbia Basin, Reclamation was assigned construction responsibility for Hell's Canyon Dam because of the possibilities for assistance to Idaho's irrigation development. Early this year, at the President's request, authorization was accorded by the Bureau of the Budget. In October, 1951, legislation drawn up by the Department of Interior was introduced (HR 5743) by Rep. John R. Murdock (D, Ariz.) in the House of Representatives at Interior Secretary Oscar Chapman's request. It is possible that hearings will be conducted locally before the summer of 1952.

The Idaho Power Company has not stood idly by while the above events were taking place. Coincident with the issuance in 1947 of Reclamation's report on the development of the Columbia watershed, this privately owned utility filed an application with the Federal Power Commission to build a low-head dam at Oxbow, some distance upriver from Hell's Canyon. Its latest and most ambitious proposal is that which would comprise the construction of five low-head dams, including Oxbow and one at Hell's Canyon. These would provide prime power of 487,000 kilowatts and cost $176 million.

Company spokesmen, with ant-like assiduity, have been carrying on a propaganda campaign designed to gain general acceptance of its proposal, and to discredit the high dam at Hell's Canyon. Business groups have been told that Idaho will be cheated out of its rightful share of its power which will be shunted westward to the heavy load centers on the coast. Farmers have been warned that their water rights would be endangered by downstream power demands, and that future reclamation of arid lands in Idaho would be cancelled out. The power company spokesmen have totally ignored the fact that their proposed series of run-of-the-river power plants would require the full flow during the late summer period of low runoff, thus bringing to an abrupt halt any plans for future irrigation development. The Hell's Canyon legislation would permit future upstream depletion for irrigation purposes. Reassuring statements have been made that there has never been a shortage of electric energy in the Idaho power area and that company planners would continue to provide for the orderly industrial development of its service area at the lowest rates.

The Southwestern Idaho Water Users Association, which includes some strong supporters of the Idaho private power interests, has attempted to tie construction of Hell's Canyon with development of the Mountain Home Irrigation project. The two together would require $610 million, an amount which might endanger its authorization by Congress. Even this was opposed

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by the private utility lawyers. The Water Users proposed a clause in the Interior legislation which would in effect abrogate Interior's preferential treatment of municipalities, REAs and co-operatives in sale of wholesale power, thus leaving Idaho Power in full control of marketing, even though HR 5743 makes it mandatory that Idaho's allotted 300,000 to 500,000 kilowatts be distributed and sold at Bonneville rates by a state power authority. Secretary Chapman turned this down.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the company to inculcate its point of view have paid off in the shape of anti-Hell's Canyon, pro-Idaho Power resolutions passed by the Idaho State Grange, the State Farm Bureau Federation and numerous civic groups. A majority of local newspapers, led by the Idaho *Daily Statesman* of Boise, have presented their readers with a wholly one-sided picture of the controversy. Idaho's present Republican Governor, Len C. Jordan, has been storming up and down the land, speaking from the company's script, and the State Public Utilities Commission added its two-cents worth in a brief submitted recently to the Congressional Joint Committee on Defense Production, upholding Idaho Power.

The four-man Idaho delegation to Congress has constantly viewed Hell's Canyon as a threat to the American Way of Life. Of late it has been observed, however, that Republican Sens. Henry Dworshak and Herman Welker have begun an elaborate tightrope act on the subject since returning home this fall to visit their constituents.

Liberals in Idaho have not begun to recover from their debacle in the 1950 Democratic primaries. As a result the day-to-day spade-work for Hell's Canyon has been done mainly in Eastern Oregon, where Hell's Canyon Clubs have stoutly persisted against the most vicious pressure and emerged with solid community support.

These dogged people have gradually broadened public consciousness of the vital meaning of Hell's Canyon to the area's economic future. This feeling exploded into action in early December of this year when some 200 citizens from three states, of all political persuasions and occupations ranging from farmers and stockmen to lawyers, met in the town of Weiser, Ida., and formed the Idaho-Oregon Hell's Canyon Association. Since then a number of local associations have sprung into being. This month the organizations hope to obtain at least 13,000 individual pledges of support for the dam, and for agreement on implementing legislation which will probably be introduced by Sen. Wayne Morse (R, Ore.).

With restrained eagerness the Boise regional office of the Bureau of Reclamation has assisted in the dissemination of basic engineering data refuting the spread-eagle contentions of Idaho Power. It underlines the disadvantages of low-head, run-of-the-river dams, demonstrates that unit costs per kilowatt-year are less for Hell's Canyon than for the five dams, and points out the multi-purpose features of their own structure and the use of power revenues in excess of amortization costs for future reclamation projects in Idaho. And, in answer to the latest move of Idaho Power to shift the federal dam to the Mountain Sheep site further downstream, it demonstrates that Hell's Canyon plus Nez Perce, the latter proposed for building at the mouth of the Salmon River, would generate site and downstream prime power of 3,296,000 kilowatts against only 1,930,000 for the five Idaho Power dams plus Mountain Sheep.

With the sands of the 82nd Congress running low, the Idaho-Oregon Hell's Canyon Association has made a fairly good showing thus far in slightly more than two months of existence. Its membership now exceeds 2,500 persons, Idahoans in the majority. New local chapters are formed every week, but the numerical strength must be at least trebled within the next month, or a convincing demonstration of support cannot be made.

Organized labor in Idaho is becoming more active in behalf of the project—AFL and CIO at the outset, and now the newly formed Northern Idaho Farmer-Labor Legislative Council composed of the Independent Woodworkers, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, northern Farmers Union and the Idaho Pension Union. The stronghold of the opposition remains unbroken in Southern Idaho, however, a living tribute to the effectiveness of the work of Idaho Power field men among Granges, Farm Bureaus, business groups and irrigation companies.

A considerable morale booster was the President's inclusion in his budget message of a request for $6 million to begin construction of the dam. Word received that hearings may be held in Washington in the near future has been a heavy blow. For the group lacks the war chest to send anyone there to testify and its membership is composed almost in its entirety of people without necessary funds to finance a 3,000 mile trip. If local hearings are not conducted, the chances for enactment of Hell's Canyon legislation most probably will go down the drain for the present. In spite of prospects of immediate defeat, Hell's Canyon proponents are organizing for 1953. The issue of regional development of the Columbia basin and that of public power will continue to be hot at the hustings this year. The thousands of citizens in this area who want the economic benefits from Hell's Canyon dam will be scanning the attitudes of candidates from both parties with narrowed and measuring eyes.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

INTIMATIONS OF MORTALITY

IN COUNTRY SLEEP, by Dylan Thomas (New Directions; $2.00.)

W. R. RODGERS, the Irish poet, tells of a servant-girl who could not read but who often received love-letters. "How to find out what was in those letters was a problem to the girl. She solved it by arrangement. Standing behind her mistress' chair she would put her fingers in her mistress's ears while the mistress read the letters aloud."

This confidence that sound is one of the sources of meaning is a precious primitive part of the poetic gift and a conspicuous part if the beneficiary of the gift is a Celt. Dylan Thomas is exactly that and most readers of his poetry know that when his poems are voiced and sounded aloud they move into a clarity and definition which does not appear on the printed page. And those who have heard him read his poetry realize that he writes from as well as for the voice and the eye. His poetry is shaped for the listening reader. Thomas is a Welshman and Wales is a voice. In *Quite Early One Morning*, a short prose piece related, in imagery and incident, to *Poem in October* there is a genial little view of the vocality of Wales.

> The town was not yet awake. The milkman lay still, lost in the clangour and music of their Welshspoken dreams, the wishfulfilled tenor voices, more powerful than Caruso's, sweeter than Ben Davies's, thrilling past Cloth Hall and Manchester House up to the frosty hills.

It is worth noting there the locality as well as the vocality of Wales for between them they provide a large part of the song and vision in Thomas's poetry.

In Country Sleep is Dylan Thomas's first book since *Twenty Six Poems* (1949) where the title poem of this slender new selection appeared. It is a slender selection but the quality of its contents is high. Each of the six poems is a distinguished and characteristic piece of work and each exemplifies a different aspect of Thomas' sensibility and craftsmanship. All deal, in one way or another, with his favored subjects: life, death, love, country matters and Wales.

The Welsh landscape is the vision, elegiac or exultant in the background of the series of reminiscential poems which began with *Poem in October* and *Fern Hill* and is represented here with *Sir John's Hill*. Both vision *and* background this landscape is. Emerging from it are memories, associations, presences and omnipresences which become free and active elements stating the poet's feelings while at the same time they stand or hover or flow substantially in the scene before his eyes.

> Now the heron grieves in the weeded verge. Through windows
> Of dusk and water I see the tilting whispering
> Heron, mirrored, go,
> As the snapt feathers snow,
> Fishing in the tear of the Towy. Only a hoot owl
> Hollows, a grassblade blown in cupped hands, in the looted elms,
> And no green cocks or hens
> Shout
> Now on Sir John's hill.

The internal and external effects of nature here and elsewhere in Thomas's poetry are in some ways like those which touched the Boy in Wordsworth's *The Prelude* at those moments when "the visible scene would enter unawares into his mind." There are indeed several parts of *The Prelude* which as poetry in the native English tradition might be fairly compared with Thomas's Welsh memories of lost childhood. The same remembered Boy of Winander for example—

> many a time,
> At evening when the earliest stars began
> to move along the edges of the hills,
> Rising or setting, would he stand alone,
> Beneath the trees, or by the glimmering lake;
> And there, with fingers interwoven, both hands
> Pressed closely palm to palm and to his mouth
> Uplifted, he, as through an instrument,
> Blew mimic hootings to the silent owls,
> That they might answer him.

(*Continued on page 22*)

FOREIGN POLICY SIGNPOST

SINCE STALIN: A PHOTO HISTORY OF OUR TIME, by Boris Shub and Bernard Quint (Swen: $3.95).

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY, by Margaret Mead (McGraw-Hill; $4).

IN 30,000 WORDS of politically sophisticated, lucid text and more than 400 remarkable photographs, *Since Stalin* presents a documented, fascinating history of the making of today's world crisis. It offers a prescription for cure without war that we cannot afford to ignore.

The book reviews Russia's great cultural tradition, the reforms wrested by repeated revolts, the Czar's overthrow and Wilson's welcoming of the new democratic nation. Then come the Bolshevik seizure of power and the misguided Allied intervention and the defining of zones of influence which boomeranged to Lenin's benefit. Next the gradual distortion of the Communist ideal as crisis after crisis was met by means—terror, purges, mass slave camps—whose only justification was a goal becoming increasingly remote. Finally, text and pictures trace the sad story of Spain, Munich, the Soviet-Nazi Pact, World War II and its aftermath. Of key significance are shots of Russians greeting Nazi troops as liberators. Millions of Soviet soldiers surrendered, but the German brutality turned most enemies of Stalin into fierce defenders of their country. Even so half a million captured Russians offered to fight Stalin.

From all this Boris Shub and Bernard Quint conclude that the Soviet people are an oppressed, captive group, but apathetic because they see no hope for freedom and probably fear the West more than Stalin. Therefore, they propose: that the West make a clear distinction between the Russian people and the Stalin regime, so that Kremlin propaganda will have little opportunity to exploit our gestures as proof of our enmity to Russia *per se*: that we search

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out Russian DPs, officials, soldiers and all others we can reach and give them hope for a democratic alternative to the Soviet regime. The negative principle of never chastising the Russian people makes good sense, but how can we convince the Russians that we really want peace? What concrete aid can we offer? Might not active, official support of revolution force Stalin to fabricate an "incident" that would set off World War III and unify Russia behind this regime?

Most available evidence (including interviews with thousands of Russian DPs) supports Shub's view that the Soviet is too weak internally and in military resources to succeed in a major war against the West; hence Stalin will not be easily provoked. As for wooing the Russians, it is a pity that this otherwise excellent book does not insist upon the importance of a firm US stand for the esssentials of peace: full, inspected disarmament to be carried out within a stated period, with the Russians doing the inspecting of the West; increased Point Four aid, with the savings affected by disarmament used to raise living standards and productivity, coupled with gradually increased freedom of communication, and diminution of autocratic and terroristic methods. Unfortunate, too, are the occasional oversimplifications, exaggerations, juxtapositions and significant omissions which imply that Stalin and Communism are the sole bars to peace, that free governments never lead nations to war, that the West has been impeccable in its international dealings, that the Near East and Asia may be ignored as political factors and that our support of reactionary regimes has had little bearing on Soviet success.

Margaret Mead's *Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority* reports on a government-sponsored study, by a group of social scientists and psychologists, of Soviet newspapers, journals, plays, etc., combined with interviews with Soviet emigrants, to determine the nature of the regime's hold on the population and the conditions that might weaken or strengthen it. The book is full of imaginative insights and analysis. Reading it, one enters a horrible world that is at the same time fascinating because, like Kafka's universe or Orwell's *1984*, many elements in the picture are culminations of tendencies growing steadily in our own society.

When it comes to estimating the effect of Soviet attitudes and techniques on party members and the masses, the study is less convincing. The evidence available seems too limited, and the advanced anthropological and psychological tools used have not been adequately tested. Moreover, it is often not clear whether what is being discussed is the official ideal or the actual situation, and there is a conspicuous poverty of example. Doubtful, too, are the hypotheses about pre-revolutionary Russian character, previously advanced by Geoffrey Gorer, which are applied in this study. Thus, it is asserted that Russians tend to equate treasonable thoughts with treasonable acts, and that, since everyone is considered "sinful," indiscriminate arrests are not resented as they would be in other societies. The existence of forced-labor camps under the Czar (historians estimate they housed approximately 50,000 persons) is cited as another basis for the relative acceptance of today's mass-scale slave-labor camps; both the "acceptance" and the basis are dubious. Miss Mead points out that under the Czar peasants were accustomed to community or government ownership of land, yet she fails to draw any conclusion from the peasants' fierce resistance to collectivization. She often leans over backwards to explain the real meaning of certain evidence. Thus, since in Bolshevik theory the slightest doubt of the regime is interpreted as bitter enmity, the official fear that party members will "turn" implies, not widespread disloyalty, but simply "doubting." But if doubting is dealt with by liquidation, and if loyal party members receive material advantages, probably only a serious disaffection could account for all this "doubt" and the fear thereof.

However, the study's basic conclusions appear sound and of major importance: that the contradictions in Soviet society and the harshness of the state's hand upon the individual are such that the regime must, sooner or later, offer its population higher living standards and less repression or find its own leadership weakening. Therefore, to increase its strength and stability, the Soviet regime must lessen the fear of capitalist attack, must relax a police terror that reflects official mistrust of a population whose standard of living is kept low by the cost of armaments. Such a policy might well lead to a far stabler world.

ALEXANDER KLEIN

THE TAINT OF MANICHEE

THE LOST CHILDHOOD AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Graham Greene (Viking; $3.50)

AS ONE WHO gains little comfort from Graham Greene's opinions and looks with skepticism upon his recent elevation to the rank of Living Master, I have been surprised and pleased to find this book a fascinating performance, far more so than his fiction. Greene writes extremely well, with clarity, color and bite, and with a range of reference that might be envied by a professional critic. In the opening to a short piece on Fielding and Sterne, he refers illuminatingly to Cromwell, Bunyan and Hopkins; quotes, and quotes appositely, from Dryden and Trotsky. His manner reminds one of E. M. Forster and Virginia Woolf: pastel vignettes, elegant informality, toast and tea. But the resemblance is superficial, for Greene, unlike them, is not primarily a "literary" person; he cares passionately about major areas of experience at which they are content to peer.

By far the most interesting essays are several on Henry James, written with the disciple's awe and admiration. Greene's reading of James is intense, narrow, one-sided and powerful; he sees James as devoted, in his mature novels, to "the idea of treachery, the 'Judas complex.'" A "puritan with a nose for the Pit," James was fascinated by evil, a fascination Greene sees manifested in such major characters as Kate Croy, Charlotte Stant, Mme. Merle, Gilbert Osmond and Merton Densher.

Unquestionably, an important strain

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of truth runs through this reading of James, and whoever ignores it will be unable to make out the later novels. But anyone who sees James merely in these colors, as a kind of superb ancestor of Greene himself, will miss all those counter-balancing elements in James's work which simply do not interest Greene. A novelist's characters, says Greene, are "convincing masks for his own personality." Probably true for the second-rate artist, it is not true for the first rate; Merton Densher is not a mask for James, nor is Gilbert Osmond. The master *can* imagine someone besides himself.

Throughout *The Lost Childhood* Greene reverts to the subject of evil, and not merely evil as manifested in a variety of local behaviors but Evil as an autonomous power in the universe, an eternal component of human nature. At first glance, this may seem a reflection of Green's Catholicism, and so it is; but it is also something deeper and more private. In his critical essays, except for his remark regretting that Havelock Ellis was not "born into the Christian faith," Greene makes a rigorous effort to avoid tendentious literary judgments. Yet he so continually searches out, in writers where it is present and writers where it is not, the concern with vice and corruption, violence and despair that it becomes clear we have reached some rock-botton fact, antedating any set of religious beliefs, about the man and his work.

In the Church, says Greene, Hell and Evil form a "savage elementary belief." Whether this be true for Catholicism as a whole is questionable, but it is certainly true for some of its intellectual converts. In his autobiographical sketches, one a remarkable account of adolescent experiments in suicide (he played "Russian Roulette"), Greene speaks of "my pattern—religion might later explain it to me in other terms, but the pattern was already there—perfect evil walking the world where perfect good can never walk again."

In the light of Green's writings and our knowledge of his life, with its rhythms of wandering and quest, this "pattern" seems uncomfortably close to spiritual sensationalism. Descend that you may be saved, writes Greene; but at times he seems to say, hope to be saved that you may descend. The greatest good, imply the sophisticated Catholic writers, often comes from those who know most about evil; perhaps, but it is curious that they do not seem to credit very highly the possibility of learning from other people's experience. This is a variety of religious belief which particularly allows for self-indulgence, since it tends to regard experience as preparation or "material" for redemption rather than as the ground of morality; and in its readiness to suppose that sinners have a particular aptitude for becoming saints, as well as in its implicit depreciation of the milder virtues found among humdrum folk who are neither conspicuous sinners nor presumptive saints, it is a variety of belief perilously close to that sentimental diabolism which has shadowed Catholic writers for the past century.

Surely it is not the business of anyone so entirely secular as myself to hunt for heretics; but it may be useful to remark, at a moment when Rome is winning intellectual converts, that its eagerness to acquire them makes it rather casual at inspecting them. This problem has not escaped Greene, and in his response to it he seems entirely honest; he can hardly be unaware that, to one extent or another, he speaks about himself when he declares Dickens to be marred by the "eternal and alluring taint of Manichee, with its simple and terrible explanation of our plight, how the world was made by Satan and not by God, lulling us with the music of despair."

The Church is said to have a profound appreciation of the magnitude of evil in the modern world, and that attracts writers who find the world intolerable; the Church also shows a quite worldly flexibility in its dealings with evil—is that also attractive? In a letter to François Mauriac, a French counterpart of Greene though a writer of superior gifts, André Gide once said: "The object of your novels is not so much to bring sinners to Christianity as to remind Christians that there is something on earth besides. . . . Doubtless if I were more a Christian I should be less your disciple." Malicious as it is, Gide's thrust strikes home—and Greene might think about it.

These matters are of more than literary or theological interest, they affect the way we live or want to live. Perhaps, in this age, it is unavoidable that we be committed to extreme responses, intimate with despair, familiar with public horror to a degree our immediate ancestors may not have been. Our literary masters are men of trouble, poets of anguish. But, in or out of faith, we might maintain a certain weariness. Greene, though free of Evelyn Waugh's rankling hatred, displays a strain of harshness, uncharitableness, inflexibility, how brittle his Christianity seems when compared, say, to the warm humaneness and moral poise of a Silone. Writers like Greene are too indifferent to the quiet virtues, the routine decorums, the mild affabilities; their apocalyptic visions, like the similar expectations of political revolutionaries, sometimes make them impatient with ordinary, undramatic people. I believe myself that the apocalyptic, in political rather than religious terms, is a necessary element of modern life; but if we must live by it, we should know the price we pay. The patron saint of the younger writers is Dostoevsky, and in many ways he must be. Yet it might be good to remember that it is the more rational Tolostoy who, in his great creative moments, gives us the deeper and truer vision of life.

IRVING HOWE

THE JUSTICE AND THE MAN

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, by Merlo J. Pusey (Macmillan; 2 vols., $15).

WITH characteristic foresight and sagacity, Charles Evans Hughes employed the leisure of his retirement to prepare an extensive commentary on his life and career, for the use of a biographer. Merlo Pusey has had access to these notes, covering several hundred pages, and has quoted from them freely. They help enormously to make his account a lively and authentic chronicle, combining the virtues of biography and autobiography.

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The life itself, in bare outline, is almost a caricature of the American saga. The poverty-ridden schoolboy, beseeching his parents for new trousers to replace the worn-out pair handed down from his father, is destined to earn at the bar $400,000 a year; the promising young attorney marries his senior partner's daughter; the intrepid investigator of corruption is rewarded with the governorship of his state; the minister's son becomes successively Justice of the Supreme Court, Secretary of State, Judge of the World Court, and Chief Justice of the United States. So glittering a career holds for the biographer the peril of vulgarization or adulation; Pusey has avoided both. Human and sympathetic his portrait unquestionably is, but it does not lack penetration or judgment.

The legend of Hughes as a "human icicle" or an "animated feather duster" had been pretty well dispelled during his lifetime. If any doubts remain, Pusey has shown in a dozen ways, from shipboard stories to Hughesian light verse, that the feather duster could tickle and the icicle had sparkle. Of greater moment are the insights furnished by his correspondence into the recesses of Hughes's spirit. The letters, beginning with reports to his parents during college years, trace the emancipation of a mind. The fanatical dedication of his parents to their calling became in the son a passionate striving for self-fulfillment, leashed to stern self-discipline. The tension almost proved too great in his early years in the law. Repeatedly finding himself exhausted by his fearful exactions of himself, describing himself in a letter to his wife as a neurotic, he came to depend on summer climbing in the Alps for refreshment. But it was in public service that he found his real fulfillment; for him, one guesses, public affairs were a spiritual Alps.

Hughes was appointed to the Supreme Court from the governorship of New York, without having served as a judge of any tribunal and without having appeared as counsel before the Court itself. In the six years before his resignation in 1916, he demonstrated a grasp of practical affairs and a spacious conception of the role of the Constitution in our evolving national life.

As Chief Justice he helped to investigate the Bill of Rights at a time when basic liberties were under attack here and abroad. His opinions on freedom of the press, guilt by association and fair procedure in criminal trials are modern classics. This is not to say that he would have joined in every veto of local legislation that the Court has since his time imposed in the name of civil liberties. For example, he and his Court saw no constitutional objection to the compulsory flag salute in public schools, and it is clear that he found no reason to change his view after the Court had changed its own. In economic affairs, if he did not run completely with the tides of national legislation, he was no judicial Canute to bid them turn back. To be sure, he voted against the NRA and the AAA, but his other votes made it plain that he would have sanctioned measures affecting production if they were cast more solidly as interstate marketing controls. His role, incidentally, in saving the Court from the President's reorganization plan in 1937 is cleared, with the aid of his notes, of some of the mystery that has surrounded it.

Pusey deals judiciously with the Secretary of State period. Much of the revisionist criticism of the Disarmament Conference and Naval Limitation Treaties is shown to miss the mark; subsequent lapses, not the Hughes formulas, were to blame for our military state. On one basic problem, however, Pusey cannot acquit Hughes. "There is no evidence," records the biographer, "that Secretary Hughes foresaw the inevitable breakdown of the postwar settlements or that he fully appreciated the significance of the United States' shift from the position of a debtor to that of a creditor nation. He continued to support the Republican tariff policy, which made payment of the war debts economically impossible." To state this is simply to say that he was using the standard telescope of the nineteen-twenties and that he lacked the imagination of John Maynard Keynes.

PAUL A. FREUND

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YOU KNOW the anecdote about the child who was warned not to mention a prominent portion of J. P. Morgan, Sr's. face when he came to tea. The child was the soul of correctness until, indicating the sugar bowl, she asked her mother to please pass the nose!

There is something about Mary Chase's *Mrs. McThing* resembling the delightful unexpectancy of that anecdote, a kind of homely matter-of-factness merges with freakish fancy, common sense breaks down to a sort of touching goofiness without losing anything in naturalness and poise. Mary Chase has a style because she is a personality.

It is not a literary style—most of the writing is ordinary, some of it flat—and there is nothing literary in the personality. This is rather unusual: writers of fantasy, addicts of whimsy and most devotees of the playfully imaginative are generally given to a special sort of verbal delicacy which makes their eccentricity palatable to the staid. Mary Chase's fantasy is spontaneous and theatrical; it expresses itself in action, in a manner of feeling, thinking and living which transcends niceties of speech or concern for elegance of form. Hers is a gentle impishness of being, an affectionate clownishness of thought. It is not careful, economical or disciplined. It is not even brilliant. It just moseys along.

I do not mean to substitute gush for evaluation. I am trying to say that the whole (which is the spirit) is greater in *Mrs. McThing* than any of its parts, and that to criticize it in detail—in terms of certain awkward scenes, trite moments and a structure that is haphazard—is to be foolish about it. *Mrs. McThing* is not a play to read. On the stage it has a relaxed gaiety which is both good for the heart and tonic for the (presumably absent) mind.

What is it about? Most of the reviewers found it almost embarrassing to relate the plot. Their instinct was right: it isn't that the story doesn't matter, but it is a different story as one tells it and as one's subconscious absorbs and conjures with it. Literally it is built on the theme of mothers and what they do to their quaking children. But there is something about the story which makes it fall out of its own funny shape and take on others of one's own—and perhaps the author's—unconscious design. It is remarkable how a meaningless play will often assume more meanings than one can find in the sort of sober game which has but a single construction. In any case *Mrs. McThing* is exactly the contrary of *Peter Pan*, which celebrates the virtues of the British home whereas *Mrs. McThing* raises Cain with ours.

The ANTA production of *Mrs. McThing* is not entirely even but like the play it is fresh and alive in just the right places. Helen Hayes embodies the spirit of the occasion with her attempted "high society" propriety which is shattered by her own childish bedazzlement into a hundred charming pieces. There are a number of very happy pieces of casting: the placing of the adorably impudent seven year old Lydia Reed beside the beatific nine-year-old Brandon de Wilde; and topping the cluster of gangster goons—good natured Jules Munshin and the abbreviated madcap Irwin Corey—by the fantastic elongation of Fred Gwynne, who looks like a discouraged and frightened Maypole.

Cornelia Otis Skinner's programme of skits, collectively entitled *Paris '90*, is nostalgic. I can hardly believe, however, that it is nostalgic in terms of our theatre audience which often strikes me as having no history. I mean that Miss Skinner's performance is nostalgic for her own past in terms of her father. Miss Skinner reveals herself intelligent, ambitious, able and almost aggressively enamored of the theatre. Her father was one of the finest character actors the American stage has produced. Miss Skinner likes to disengage the sharp character traits of an environment and thrust them into the narrow framework of a theatrical reproduction.

In the cleverly mounted *Paris '90* Miss Skinner relies on material (largely inspired by the work of Toulouse-Lautrec) which is visually more distinguished than its written material. The latter tends toward something between a literary parlor trick and vaudeville with a liberal sprinkling of old-fashioned sentimentality. The result is often thin and discomfiting—even though we cannot fail to react sympathetically to Miss Skinner's bent for glamorous, full-bodied, theatrical expression. But the audience has no blood tie or authentic connection with the Paris of the nineties such as Miss Skinner has with her father. Of Lautrec's decorativeness all that remains is a pigmented smattering; the bite of Lautrec's personal and social experience is gone. Miss Skinner's work can at best be only politely appreciated, for it lacks inner organs. Perhaps she might do something better than imitation if she yielded to the real sources of her theatrical urge and recreated for us the image of New York '90 or the theatre and times of Otis Skinner.

HAROLD CLURMAN

(*Continued from page 18*)

The comparison suggests a measure of the distance between Thomas and the native English tradition. (His arrangement of the hoot owl is significant.) He is not as near as is the Scot Edwin Muir or the near-Celt Robert Graves. He is neither near it nor far from it. Occasionally he is overtaken by its great tide and one of the waves which have caught him seems to come from Wordsworth. Here is Thomas's statement of one of its themes in *Fern Hill*

> Now as I was young and easy under the apple boughs
> About the lilting house and happy as the grass was green,
> The night above the dingle starry,
> Time let me hail and climb
> Golden in the heydays of his eyes,
> And honoured among wagons I was prince of the apple towns
> And once below a time I lordly had the trees and leaves
> Trail with daisies and barley
> Down the rivers of the windfall light.

We know that Wordsworth in his "Intimations" was recollecting his own early childhood, and in *Sir John's Hill* there is more than a pet-name hint that the poet is thinking of himself in the call of the hawk. No recollection in tranquillity this

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There
Where the elegiac fisherbird stabs and paddles
In the pebbly dab filled
Shallow and sedge, and, "dilly dilly," calls the loft hawk,
"Come and be killed,"
I open the leaves of the water at a passage
Of psalms and shadows

One is sharply reminded of the way he wrote of his birthday in *Poem in October*: "My birthday began with the water —Birds and the birds of the winged trees flying my name."

In the birthday poem in this selection Thomas "celebrates and spurns . . . His driftwood thirty-fifth wind turned age" in a wonderful interlacement of darkness and light. Chanting his intimations of mortality he counts his blessings aloud.

I hear the bouncing hills
Grow larked and greener at berry brown
Fall and the dew larks sing
Taller this thunderclap spring, and how
More spanned with angels ride
The mansouled fiery islands! Oh,
Holier than their eyes,
And my shining men no more alone
As I sail out to die.

Thomas has recently described his poems as "statements made on the way to the grave," a much more sombre statement than any of the poems in this little book. His preoccupation with man's mortality is presented here very vigorously and very variously. *Do not go gentle into that Good Night* is a villanelle as fine in craftsmanship as Empson's best work in this form and far more moving. And the randy countryman's *Lament* would have delighted Yeats. It has a more authentic note of randyism and a richer hum in the rhythm than *John Kinsella's Lament for Mrs. Mary Moore.*

Ten years ago Thomas' poetry was influencing the work of some of his contemporaries but the results were unpropitious. His manner is a hard model and apt to lead a learner into mannerism or reedy, streeling rhetoric. There seems to be a successful reception of his influence in Iremonger's *Lackendarragh.*

Thomas still stands alone among the poets near him in age. He started "bang off," as William Empson has said, "with a highly original and within its limits perfect technique." He had the power to turn this technique back onto tradition and evolve fresh methods of expression to accommodate the fresh experience and realizations of maturity. More than any other poet of his generation he has the power to think poetically, "to resolve speech" as Robert Graves puts it, "into its original images and rhythms and recombine these on several simultaneous levels of thought into a multiple sense." Thomas is not a philosophical poet—he is not Wordsworth nor was meant to be —but there is a deep and rich vein of poetic thought in his reverberating affirmations of life and intimations of mortality.

With respect to technique and method this new selection of his poem is confirmatory rather than exploratory. It is further evidence that Thomas has mastery of a mystery but it gives no hint of initiation on new thresholds.

Every reader of verse will be grateful for these six handsomely printed poems and eager for a selection of new poems from Dylan Thomas. JOHN L. SWEENEY

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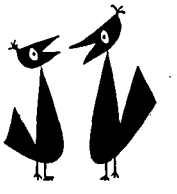

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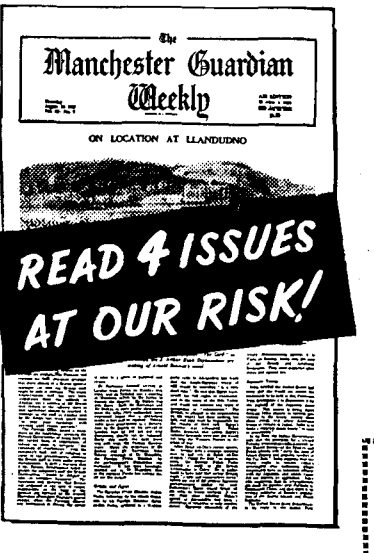

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